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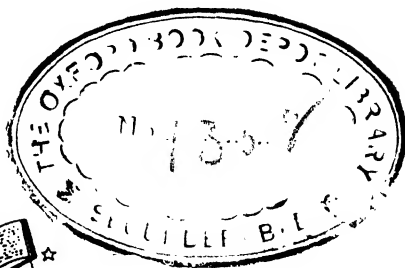
AN ECONOMIST LOOKS AT PAKISTAN

BY

Dr RADHA KAMAL MUKERJEE

M.A., PH.D.

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY



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Contrasted Principles of Political Orientation

Discussions in respect of the political future of India are now focussed towards the revision of political boundaries and in their course neglect certain fundamental economic factors and forces that must underlie long-term political adjustment. Men in India may quarrel about race and culture, language and script, custom and religion. But soils, rivers, raw materials and minerals are not controversial ; and it is these that represent the physical framework largely regulating the features of economic and political planning, granted that the major aim of politics is to furnish the conditions for the improvement of the standard of living for an active citizenship of the common man. All over the world the state has taken up as its essential task agricultural and industrial planning and it is the differentiation of pastoral, agricultural and industrial regions as co-ordinated units that supplies the skeleton of planning in some of the larger modern states. The new principle of economic organization which has emerged out of the poverty, unemployment and world economic depression of the thirties is Economic Regionalism found by modern state-craft to offer the best clue to the alleviation of misery, and economic and political unrest.

Principle of Nationality or Minority

There is no doubt that the Principle of Nationality has often been misapplied and misinterpreted and has been chiefly responsible for the Balkanization of Europe and for chronic wars in that continent. With reference to India, the principle of political self-determination of the country as a whole is all right as the justification of Indian independence.

But with regard to the Hindus and Muslims being represented as two nations, the principle of nationality is grievously wrongly construed. Even if the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians were regarded as separate national groups, it does not follow that each should demand its 'homeland'. Switzerland is an outstanding example of a country with four nationalities forming one of the soundest and most democratic political communities in the world. In Canada the English Canadians (Protestants) and the French Canadians (Roman Catholics), once fighting with each other, are welded into a strong unitary state in spite of differences of race, language, religion and historical tradition. The Südeten Germans always lived in Bohemia in peace and amity and did not have anything to do with even the oldest German Reich. But Nazi propaganda used the ideological slogan of Nationality for fomenting trouble in Czecho-Slovakia preliminary to the expansion of Nazi *lebensraum*.

Nationality has worked as a rather disruptive and disintegrating shibboleth that Woodrow Wilson unwittingly let loose in war-distracted Europe. It is only Soviet Russia that through the binder of the collectivistic ideal has been able to weld together the various nationalities and minorities into a strong democratic state. The great problem of modern democracies today is the intransigence of the minorities.

Professor Scott Nearing once wrote to the present writer : ' Generally speaking, minorities learn little, so there is nothing for it but direct majority action. It is always a good sign when the majority speaks up and the minority is compelled to listen.' Indian democracy will be a chimera so long as the Indian minorities refuse to learn. No minority however strong or numerous can be permitted to delay or checkmate the political progress of the entire country. The democratic process implies the socialization of the minorities,

their coming into line with the demands of the entire people. Unfortunately the political education of the minorities is greatly handicapped by separate representation on the basis of community or religion, reservation of seats and other devices introduced into the new Indian Constitution. At a time in India's social history when the new nationalist movement was sweeping through the entire country and abolishing the barriers of castes, communities, religions and languages, the introduction of a system of franchise that divided the electorate along religious lines was an open invitation to the minorities to think in terms of communal and religious instead of political and national lines. Nothing indeed contributed more to pull back 92 millions of Muslims from joining the common political front than this. And yet in some quarters this procedure that will affect Indian history and politics for many a long year has been hailed as a superb act of British statesmanship.

One of the curious paradoxes in recent Indian political history is the partition of a Hindu majority unit, Bengal, by dispersion of Bengali-speaking areas to other administrative provinces, resulting in the artificial creation of a Muslim majority in the present province of Bengal. This was followed up by another still more curious paradox, viz. the special protection of the Muslim majority community. In no country is the majority protected by privileges. It is the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of minorities as introduced by the recent Indian constitution that is largely responsible for the minorities becoming a disruptive element in the state and a cause of national disorganization under the false camouflage of the principle of nationality. Linguistic, religious and racial minorities cannot indeed be treated as nationalities, permanently alien to the general political structure of the country.

Principle of History

The Principle of Nationality works in subordination to another principle that governs political frontiers—the Principle of History. This principle demands that the political unity of an independent country or of a country aspiring after independence cannot be disrupted for the purpose of shaping new political organizations. History through the centuries has welded together the various communities of India, that have suffered the same political vicissitudes and cherished the same political memory. History cannot be forgotten nor obscured. The national memory of a people living in the same land and under the same sky and speaking the same language for centuries must find expression in common political heritage and geographical frontiers. Several Indias cannot be made by constitution-makers through obliterating that memory which we call History, and which lives as the people's tradition.

History in Eastern and North-Western Pakistan

History is an excellent binder. For the people of Bengal that have had the same political vicissitudes and cultural traditions through the centuries, the principle of History would not permit a separation between Hindu and Muslim majority districts largely because Muslim population growth has been due to conversion in the last century. Previously to that conversion was largely the result of famine, agricultural serfdom and abandonment of villages. Bengal's political history has throughout shown great amity between Hindus and Muslims, with Muslim rulers employing Hindu generals and Dewans, and Hindu rulers employing Muslim generals. In certain periods this social harmony played no small part in protecting the province from Moghul aggression or European and Mugh piracy. In the battle of Plassey,

where the battle of Bengal was won by Clive, Sirajuddaula's right-hand men were the Hindu generals Mir Madan and Mohan Lal. Nor could such a situation arise that led to Siraj's defeat but for the fact that Siraj estranged the powerful Hindus of his time—Durlabh Ram, Nand Kumar and Jagat Seth who all intrigued with 'Colonel Clive's ass'.

While past history unites Hindus and Muslims in Bengal, the sad and harsh memory of the bloody struggle and heroic martyrdom of the Sikhs against the Muslims in N.W. Province has not yet been entirely erased by a century of British rule, and the re-establishment of a political unit dominated by the Muslims and yet including 3·7 million Sikhs may arouse in them the intractibility and intransigence of the Südeten Germans. This possibility cannot be neglected especially as Sikhism originated and developed as the result at once of the political repression of the Muslims and the social tyranny of the Hindus, and as the Sikh Community is found in a more or less compact block in the centre. The core of this Sikh concentration in the central Punjab is represented by the whole of Ludhiana and Jullundur districts, the states of Kapurthala, Maler-Kotla, Faridkot and Nabha and a considerable portion of Ferozepur district. Within this block the Sikhs number approximately two and half millions ; outside the block they are 1½ million, their proportion diminishing with the distance from the centre of the core.

The distribution of Sikh, Hindu and Muslim population in the compact Sikh block is shown on page 8.

The Sikh Zone

The Punjabis are the most sturdy among the fighting population of India and it is noteworthy that during recent decades an intensive recruiting has met with marked success in this province. During the European wars many Hindus

especially of the depressed classes have become Sikhs. This is largely due to the war-like traditions associated with the faith of Guru Govinda Singh and to certain social customs and manners that are more adapted to mobility and warfare. Between 1921 and 1931 as many as 542,596 persons, mostly Hindus, were assimilated into the Sikh community. Thus each European war leaves a legacy of an increased Sikh population apart from the effects of deliberate conversion.

Districts	Percentage of the Total Population		
	Sikh	Hindu	Muslim
Ludhiana ..	41	20	37
Amritsar ..	36	15	47
Ferozepur ..	34	20	45
Jullundur ..	26	18	45
Gurdaspur ..	19	24	50
Hoshiarpur ..	17	40	37

In the Punjab the Sikhs increased from 131,000 only in 1911 to as many as 3,107,000 in 1931 and to 3,757,401 in 1941. Economically, the income from military service invested in the land and in trade, and the unity of the Sikh community have contributed towards preserving and strengthening the gains of such phenomenal population growth that has not become a menace to agriculture, as in the case of small fractionalized holdings of the Hindus. Socially, due to later marriage and the marriage of widows, the Sikhs show a higher fertility rate than most Hindu castes. Living in the more productive seven or eight districts of the Punjab, they own about 30 per cent of the total cultivated area of the Punjab, and pay about 40 per cent of the total land taxes although they represent only 14 per cent of the population of the province. The Sikh community, strengthened especially by the Jat and Arora elements, is more industrious, thrifty and war-like than most Hindu and Muslim

communities in the Punjab. On the other hand, Sikhism rejects polytheism, idol-worship and the institution of pilgrimages of the Hindus and in its doctrines represents a return to pure monotheism. Nor does Sikhism tolerate the social injustice of the Hindu caste system. Various social disabilities, from which the lower Hindu agricultural and artisan classes suffer, definitely encourage their absorption in the Sikh population, with its strong religious emphasis of brotherhood in the Khalsa ; while the propagandist activity of the Sikh preachers is also in no small way responsible for the reclamation and conversion of many depressed classes who are being freely admitted to their fold. This is a tendency which is encouraging as the Sikh community so far has been a staunch defender of the Hindu spirit and traditions. If all the Hindu castes within the Sikh block of territory except perhaps the Brahmin and the Khatri go over to Sikhism, as is exceedingly probable, then the Sikh 'homeland' will become still stronger in number, wealth and solidarity.

History ensures social and political stability. But in the modern state political stability is not enough. Especially in India, with our increasing population, poverty and misery have become our greatest curses, embittering the relations between the various peoples and communities that have formerly lived together in harmony. On the other hand, as the Indian people become better fed and clothed and improve their standard of living they will become better educated and more tolerant towards one another in spite of religious and social differences. That is why it is far more necessary in the political orientation of India to stress economic reorganization and make this a major principle of planning. In an agricultural country like ours, agricultural planning will necessarily be dominant in the economic structure.

Coupland's Scheme of Political Sub-Division

Professor Coupland rightly recognizes this in the scheme of regional redistribution that he has recently proposed¹ on the basis of the division of agricultural regions envisaged by the Census Commissioner Mr Yeatts. The latter gives the regional divisions while Prof. Coupland frames the political plan. Now, what is essential in agricultural planning is that the up-river areas and down-river and delta areas should be brought together under a large economic organizational unit such as the Tennessee Valley Authority in the U.S.A. for co-ordinated planning and control. It is now recognized on all hands that soil erosion is the greatest single menace to agriculture in India as well as flood control ; and management requires co-operation and planning, covering entire river basins from the catchment areas to the deltas. In the up-river areas of the Indus, the Ganges, the Mahanadi and the Cauvery, deforestation and over-grazing by countless flocks of cattle, sheep and goats have gone on for decades and these have increased erosion, severity of floods, silting up of river beds and meandering of rivers in the deltas. The evil of extension of ravine lands is not confined to the United Provinces and the Punjab, but extends to the Bengal and Sind deltas, where the removal of soils of whole valleys by denudation has caused siltation, flood and deviation of rivers from their main channels. The reclamation of swamps in Oudh, the eastern districts of the U.P., northern Bihar and Assam has also led to an increased run-off. The Son, the Suvarnarekha, the Damodar, the Brahmaputra, the Mahanadi and the Godavari all bring floods which are in a large measure due to deforestation in the hills. Such a grievous situation cannot be remedied by isolated provincial action, since several provinces and states are involved in it. In the U.S.A. and

1. R. Coupland : *The Future of India*, Ch. X.

Soviet Russia, agricultural planning involving the co-ordinated development of cereal farming, afforestation, hydro-electric development, irrigation, flood and erosion control, is now set on foot by the formation of an interregional organization like the Tennessee Valley Authority, the North-west Regional Commission, and the Mississippi River Commission. Prof. Coupland's scheme of political delimitation is based on the T. V. A. experiment. In his scheme the first four political units represent : (1) The Indus Region, including Kashmir, Punjab, Baluchistan, Rajputana and Sind, (2) The U. P., (3) Bihar as shown in his map with a part of Bengal, and (4) Bengal and Assam ; the last three comprising the Ganges Region.

In the planning of agriculture, irrigation and river management the entire river basin should, however, be treated as a single unit like the Tennessee or the Mississippi Valley. The Economic Region for any scientific planning would be the entire Ganges Valley including the Padma and the Brahmaputra deltas. Prof. Coupland carried away by the T. V. A. plan and applying it to Eastern India forgets that while the Tennessee is a tributary of the Ohio and flows into that river and has no delta, the Ganges flows into the Bay and has a delta which mingles with two other deltas, viz. those of the Brahmaputra and the Meghna. The deltas cannot be separated from the up-river regions in any scheme of regional reconstruction. Thus Prof. Coupland's differentiation of the delta regions from the up-river regions for the purposes of planning and politics goes against the essentials of a scheme of planned control of denudation, erosion, dessication and flood.

His Erroneous Regionalism

Perhaps he is led away also by a love of symmetry and

desire for creating balanced, artificial political entities so as to give his own weightage to the Centre, oblivious of the pursuits of the economic objective that he stresses and of cultural and linguistic factors that he entirely disregards in partitioning Bengal and abrogating Orissa and Assam.

Regionalism may transform the life of agricultural India, but not this kind of regionalism that separates the delta from the valley for any agricultural planning or reconstruction. It is a grievous error in agricultural geography that underlies Prof. Coupland's identification of regional division on economic principles with the political demarcation of the Muslim homeland.

As a matter of fact, it is by inter-Provincial agreement and co-operation between the Provinces, and not by creating artificial Hindu and Muslim 'homelands' that defy in one breath the principles of History, Language and Culture as nation-building forces, that agricultural reconstruction can be sought. The Economic Regions of India comprise in fact vast areas that have different histories, traditions and languages in their different sections, forming themselves into separate cultural regions. Could history, language or culture as principles of political organization be wiped out only for the sake of regional river-basin control that could easily be left to inter-regional agreement and co-ordination, as in the case of the T. V. A., the Mississippi River Commission, or the Danube River Commission? Surely this is carrying geography too far! If all the river valleys of the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia claimed self-determination, there would not have been any U. S. A. or U. S. S. R. On the other hand, has not the strong Soviet State deflected the course of the Mother Volga and brought it to the doors of Stalin's city achieving both economic and political objectives?

The True Meaning of Regionalism

The notion of regionalism in Regional Sociology stands for the unity and solidarity that a region's way of living, occupation, language, folk tradition and culture represent. That is also the interpretation of American Regionalism by Odum and his school. The key to regionalism in India will be thus found not merely in the unity of economic interests in natural agricultural regions like the river valleys but also in the unity of language, folk traditions and culture. From this point of view the claims of Orissa, the Andhra region, Maharashtra, Kerala and Karnataka are unassailable for the formation of separate Provinces. It is a travesty of the idea of Regionalism to discard linguistic and cultural facts. The Simon Commission as they envisaged a redistribution of the Indian Provinces and recommended a Boundaries Commission, regarded it as essential that the latter should go into the whole question of regional delimitation on the basis of distribution of languages.

The Unity of Language

For instance, in Bihar as at present constituted, the Bengali-speaking proportion is 67 per cent in Manbhum, 16 per cent in Singbhum, 12 per cent in Santhal Parganas and not less than 33 per cent in Purnea. Similarly in Assam where incidentally the Hindu population is 4.2 millions and the Muslim (minority) is 3.4 millions, the Bengali-speaking population is double that of Assamese-speaking in the whole province. In Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara, the proportions of inhabitants speaking Bengali are as high as 95, 60 and 40 per cent respectively.

The Indian languages have a much longer past than the dialects and languages of European peoples and go back to much more ancient social and cultural backgrounds. Thus

the unity of language defines the culture of folks and is a far more significant factor in determining unity than religion. Many Muslims in Bengal and Assam not only speak the same tongue but also observe social manners and customs like those of the Hindus. In the regional delimitation of India the factors of language and culture have got to be considered as abiding forces of solidarity in political life, even more powerful binders than religion.

Islands or Isthmuses of Hindus and Muslims

On the other hand, if we look at population only from the point of view of religion there would be 'islands' of Sikh population in a Muslim dominated area, 'islands' of Muslim population in Hindu dominated areas, and 'islands' of Hindu population in Muslim dominated areas. Such 'islands' cannot, to use the famous words of Abraham Lincoln, 'go out of the presence and beyond the reach of one another'; these 'cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them.' For, whole peoples with their lands, homesteads, manners, language and religion cannot be uprooted. In the Punjab the Hindu 'islands' or districts representing more than 50 per cent of the population would be as many as 17. The total Hindu population in these 'islands' would aggregate 5.5 millions. The following districts and states contain more than 50 per cent Hindu population: Hissar (64 per cent), Loharu (85), Rohtak (81), Dujana (77), Gurgaon (66), Pataudi (82), Karnal (67), Jhind (74), Sirmoor (93), Simla (76), Simla Hill (96), Bilaspur (98), Kangra (93), Mandi (93), Suket (98), Chamba (92), and Tehri-garhwal (99).

The Muslim majority districts are: Kapurthala (56 per cent), Lahore (60), Gujranwala (70), Shekhupura (63),

Sialkot (62), Gujrat (85), Jhelum (89), Rawalpindi (80), Attock (90), Montgomery (69), Shahpur (83), Mianwali (86), Lyallpur (63), Jhang (82), Multan (78), Bhawalpur State (81), Muzaaffargarh (86), and Dera Ghazi Khan (89). The Muslim 'islands' would be 18 districts.

Take the case of Bengal. The following are the districts—13 in number—where the Hindus represent more than 50 per cent of the population :

Bankura (95 per cent), Hooghly (84), Midnapur (92), Howrah (80), Burdwan (81), Darjeeling (85 including tribes), Birbhum (72), 24 Parganas (67), Jalpaiguri (75), Cooch-Behar (62), Tripura State (74), and Khulna (51).

The Muslim majority districts are as follows :

Bogra (84 per cent), Rangpur (71), Rajshahi (74), Pabna (77), Mymensingh (77), Tippera (77), Bakarganj (72), Noakhali (81), Chittagong (74), Nadia (61), Jessore (65), Faridpur (61), Dacca (64), Dinajpur (50), Malda (53), Murshidabad (56). The total Hindu population in Pakistanized Bengal would be 15.6 millions including the population in tribal groups that are Hindu or semi-Hindu but which have been unjustly excluded from the Hindu community in the 1941 census.

It is inconceivable that where the religious groups are so numerically strong and balanced and where economic and social relations of the two communities so interwoven and intermingled in the villages, religion can be any practical basis of political separation. If separate mono-religious states be formed, there cannot be any escape from the 'islands' nor solutions of communal problems. If Minority Treaties and Agreements be some kind of a solution these should be adopted for safe-guarding the unity of the motherland rather than for assuming a precarious peace in split up Muslim and Hindu 'homelands'. Thus the unity of the

Punjab and of Bengal and Assam can yet be saved by Minority Treaties and Agreements. In the name of Muslim regional self-determination, Hindu and Sikh 'homelands' cannot be claimed by the Muslims so as to support and nourish north-western Pakistan, just as Muslim autonomy in eastern Bengal is entirely inconsistent with Muslim claim to Hindu 'homelands' in western and northern Bengal and Assam. As for the inclusion into Pakistan of Assam, where the Hindus represent a majority (4.2 millions) as compared with the Muslims (3.4 millions) and tribal groups (2.5 millions) it cannot be explained by the logic of either religion or language or politics. The path of separation leads to more antagonism and more separation. For segregation what will be the proportion of population that may be regarded as an absolute majority? Any percentage for separation fixed up even by mutual agreement will lead to a sinister stimulation of population in border districts for inclusion into another state, aggravating the present population pressure and overcrowding on the land and reducing further the standard of living of the masses. That is why the path to segregation has now got to be reversed on the basis of achieving or consolidating unification through language, culture and common economic aims and aspirations. Political, social and economic progress will be rendered easier through the adoption of Minority Treaties and Agreements. Especially have the provisions in the constitution of the U.S.S.R. for different nationalities or minorities to have their native schools, courts, administration and government bodies recruited principally from among the natives, a significant lesson for India in achieving her Communal Agreements. The strength of the Soviet State is based largely on regional or communal autonomy limited by such factors as the size of population of the nationality, its peculiarities of language and culture and its

geographical position on the one hand, and the imperative need of a united political and economic front on the other ; so that while diversified cultural development is encouraged any attempt at secession from the Soviet State or departure from the Communist scheme of life is regarded as treasonable. Soviet economic planning has in particular demanded the national control of resources and division of labour of different regions and nationalities, that have been knit together into a single economic system and developed simultaneously under a master plan from the centre. Thus to India in her present political *impasse* the spectacle of a strong well-knit, multi-national state that has guaranteed instruction in the native languages of the minorities, and systematically encouraged the development of minority folk arts, literatures and cultures and at the same time abolished harmful customs and usages like purda and polygamy and fissiparous tendencies should be an eye-opener. If there could be an agreement in respect of the definition and guarantee of rights of the minorities of India with similar constitutional safe-guards as in the U.S.S.R., Indian nationalism and the gradual saturation of politics with the peasant mass point of view will do the rest in bringing about communal solidarity.

The Common Economic Front of the Masses

As a matter of fact in the present social stage it is on the basis of such Agreements that all causes of communal tension such as those connected with music before the mosque, cow slaughter and religious instruction in school as well as quotas in the public services should be eliminated, so as to build up the economic solidarity of the masses. Thus the so-called political 'islands' would be converted into isthmuses leading to the undefiled heart of Indian nationhood. In the coming years, with India's accelerated pace of indus-

trialization her great problem would be a more equitable distribution of wealth for the population. Hindu and Muslim tenants, agricultural labourers and industrial workers will have to present a common solid economic front in the coming struggle for liberal land, credit, labour and social security legislation, for the protection of peasant proprietorship, the implementing of national minimum wage and housing standards, or the liquidation of illiteracy. Without a strong and effective labour organization and tenant movement the rights and interests of the Hindu and Muslim masses will be in constant jeopardy. All over the world peasants and workers are uniting and organizing themselves, and even then it has become difficult to distribute equitably among the economic classes the gains and hazards of modern industrial civilization. If religion drives a wedge through the natural groupings of a modern economic structure through the preaching of itinerant Muslim or Hindu Mullas, Priests and other separatists, we have to bid adieu to all hopes of fashioning the social and economic democracy of the future.

The future community in India and elsewhere will be organized on a more socialistic basis than at present. Only a united front of the masses all over India as represented, for instance, by the All-India Trade Union Congress, or by a Peasant's Congress that is yet to come, can mobilize adequate strength and capacity to effectively demand a more equitable sharing of the profits of large-scale industry. India divided into fragments will enable Indian capitalists and landlords to continue indefinitely to ignore the just demands of the workers and peasants, and the implementation of land, labour and social security measures for mitigating economic injustice.

Ways of Communal Amity

In the villages such democracy yet persists in spite of

what we read in the newspapers and hear in public speeches, on the basis of social and religious tolerance and friendly economic dealing between the two communities. In rural India Hindus revere Pirs and Fakirs and join in the Muharram celebration. Muslims in rural Bengal revere the Tulsi and Bel plants, observe the festivals of Jamai Sashti and Bhratri Dwitiya and even the custom of Asauch or defilement on the death of a relation. Muslim women wear the vermilion mark and worship the Goddess of Children. Both Hindu and Muslim peasants resort to the protection of Ola Bibi, Sitala and Kali during epidemics. The popular cult of Satyapir of both Hindus and Muslims is another striking evidence of religious borrowing and eclecticism that have brought the two communities together. Many Bengalis use combined Muslim and Hindu names, and address and respect the elders of their respective communities as their own kith and kin. In northern India the rise and spread of Sufism as a result of the impact between Islam and the philosophy of the Vedanta are a glowing testimony to a *rapprochement* brought about by common mystical discipline and contemplation, and today Sufism has its votaries amongst some of the best Hindu and Muslim minds.

Communal amity has of course been challenged by the new communalism but a larger social view would rehabilitate it, using the political weapon of Minority Treaties and Agreements and readjust it to the needs of economic interest and solidarity of the masses, whether evicted tenants or harassed debtors in the villages or unorganized industrial workers in the new towns and cities. Without this kind of economic solidarity of the common people, India's economic and political future cannot be soundly based.

The greatest problem of India is not religion but poverty and the solution of the desperate poverty of India's millions

is postponed by the stress of religious cleavage. On the contrary the adoption of religion as a basis of political representation stimulates population increase for both the Hindus and the Muslims in their struggle for political power, driving both of them deeper and deeper into the common doom of misery and exploitation.

Indian history and tradition have on the whole largely promoted some kind of a social and cultural unity among peoples of different races and religions. The catholicity of Indian culture is itself responsible for the existence of many communities and religions, of diverse customs and manners that are now being bolstered up into creating these so-called political 'islands'. Thus any kind of territorial separation of communities like Hindustan, Pakistan, Khalistan or any other 'stan' is bound to create more difficult political and social problems in the future than those which it now seeks to solve. No country in the world has a stronger regional tradition than India and regionalism means here a solidarity of the people on the basis of language, culture and economic interests that unite rather than religion which now has begun to sunder.

Lack of Industrial Resources in Pakistan

Yet in another respect the principle of Economic regionalism demands something far different from the delimitation of a Hindustan or Pakistan. With a division of the country into Hindustan and Pakistan, Hindustan will have virtual monopoly of coal (90 per cent) and iron (92 per cent), considerable reserves of manganese, copper and bauxite. But Pakistan, both north-western and eastern, will have only a little low grade coal and iron ore and a little bauxite. On the whole its mineral wealth will be only about 5 per cent of that of British India as a whole. The poverty of the Muslim

masses, who have already a lower standard of living and average expectation of life than the Hindu masses, can only be relieved by rapid industrialization for which Pakistan would be in constant desperate need of the mineral resources of Hindustan. Assam coal, with its excessive sulphur content cannot be used for metallurgical purposes. In the Punjab the fuels are mostly lignites. Coal fields far away from the iron ores or smelting works cannot also provide an economic basis for the development of metallurgical industries. Bauxite, the essential raw material for the aluminium industry is not available at all in Pakistan, but good deposits (15,150 tons in 1937) are available in Bihar and C.P. Mica, indispensable for the electrical industries, is found only in Bihar and Madras which produce about 109,000 cwt., the highest production in the world. Refractory materials are to be found mostly in Hindustan except a few in Assam and Baluchistan. Most of India's cement production also now comes from Hindustan. 1,684,115 tons of lime-stone, the raw material for cement, were produced in Hindustan as compared with 361,481 tons in Pakistan in 1937. So far as the production of rock phosphates essential for manuring is concerned, it is now confined to Singhbhum and Trichinopoly. But the deposits of sulphur in eastern Baluchistan may lead to the manufacture of ammonium sulphates for Pakistan agriculture.

In the Pakistan plan as well as in Prof. Coupland's scheme India still remains the agricultural region and the planning does not include Indian industrialization that is the major key to the solution of Indian poverty, whether Hindu or Muslim. Pakistan cannot be an industrial state and thus lacks the wherewithal of development of a vigorous, democratic political community. No modern state can exist without iron, coal and steel. As a matter of fact, the economic

condition of the Muslim dominated areas of the Punjab, Kashmir, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan and Sind and eastern Bengal will remain largely pastoral and agricultural in the future due to lack of noteworthy mineral resources. Their welfare would largely lie in large-scale agricultural and pastoral enterprises depending upon the import of manufactured commodities from industrial Hindustan. Sind, Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. are some of the poorest regions of India requiring a vast amount of capital for development that Pakistan, an agricultural region, will not be able to provide.

This inexorable logic of Economics even more demands a united India in the coming post-war epoch of Asiatic industrialization. Immediately after the war India and China will emerge as the leading industrial nations of Asia. With Japan's resources crippled after this long-drawn out struggle, her markets in Asia and Africa will be largely at the disposal of India, China and Australia. For British and American products are far too expensive for these markets. India will have a special advantage because of her low cost of production and abundant supply of skilled labour due to the high grade technical education in war time and also because of the proximity of these markets. India can certainly take Japan's place in world industry and trade, provided that she takes advantage of the present golden opportunity that comes rarely in the economic history of a nation. Indian industrial planning from the strong, federal centre demands a careful co-ordination and control of India's scattered industrial resources and materials, with the C.P., Bihar and Orissa forming the central core of India's future industrial power.

Unitary and Central Control as Pre-conditions of Planning

Neither a loose inter-regional union of India, as

envisaged by Prof. Coupland, nor a confederacy of India, but a full-fledged normal federation with a strong national executive at Delhi can alone create the conditions for the proper working of planning. For planning needs not only strong central control but also in some measure autarchic control within the boundaries of the country for the full utilization of productive resources on the basis of rational specialization as well as for exchange control, import and export quotas, and the management of currency and transport. Smaller countries are less fit for planning than larger countries like the U.S.A., Russia and India. The Polish economist Zweig observes : ' The size of a national economy determines the size of the market, the scale of division and sub-division of labour and of specialization of plants. In a small market, some forms of modern industry cannot be developed, because the necessary specialization of plants is unprofitable. A small economy with closed, or at any rate with a greater number of closed doors would be handicapped in its development, while the same country with free access to world trade would be in a more favourable position.'

Without unity of the whole country, economic planning will be difficult, and agricultural Hindus and Muslims will be in greater misery and, imprisoned in their one to two acre holdings, will fight more bitterly with one another. Without unity India cannot command the sympathy and confidence of other nations, nor obtain foreign loans on such terms as China would obtain. Without unity India will not be able to obtain nickel, tin, tungsten, lead, zinc and petroleum from Burma on favourable terms for the development of her heavy industries, for China will also be a competitor there. Without unity India cannot protect her heavy metal and chemical industries by tariffs against the more powerful Western industrial nations, and her strong organized industries,

textiles, iron and steel, cement and sugar will die a premature death for lack of expansive home markets due to the imposition of tariffs.

At this critical stage of the world's transition it is essential in India to take our stand on the economic realities of her present poverty and unemployment and on the vast potentialities of improvement of the standard of living by planned industrialization. Social and religious quarrels stand in the way of both political and industrial power of the country as a whole. In the modern age, industrial power is real political power. The development of industrial power in a planned economy makes Indian unity imperative. Only with this can India obtain a fair deal from the foreign nations and develop her industry and trade at a rapid pace ; and within the country, Hindus and Muslims with more food, clothing and other necessities and decencies of a civilized existence, will become more understanding toward each other. The surer and safer road to Indian unity is through Economics and not through Politics.

TABLE I

*Distribution of Principal Communities in British India, 1941**(All figures are given in thousands)*

Province or State	Hindus other than Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Castes	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Total population
Punjab	6,302	1,249	16,217	505	3,757	28,419
N.W.F.P.	180	—	2,789	11	58	3,038
Sind	1,038	192	3,208	20	31	4,535
U.P.	34,095	11,717	8,416	160	232	55,021
Bihar	22,174	4,340	4,716	35	13	36,340
Orissa	5,595	1,238	146	28	0.2	8,729
Bengal	17,680	7,379	33,005	166	16	60,307
Assam	3,537	676	3,442	41	3	10,205
C.P.	9,881	3,051	784	59	15	16,814
Bombay	14,700	1,855	1,920	375	8	20,850
Madras	34,731	8,068	3,896	2,047	0.4	49,342
T o t a l	150,890	39,921	79,399	3,482	4,165	295,809
British India						

TABLE II

Distribution of Hindu and Muslim Majority Districts in Bengal

Hindu Majority Districts			Muslim Majority Districts		
District or State	1931 per cent	1941 per cent	District or State	1931 per cent	1941 per cent
1. Burdwan	79	81	1. Nadia	62	61
2. Birbhum	67	72	2. Murshidabad	56	56
3. Bankura	91	95	3. Jessore	62	65
4. Midnapur	89	92	4. Rajshahi	76	74
5. Hooghly	83	84	5. Dinajpur	51	50
6. Howrah	78	79.7	6. Rangpur	71	71
7. 24 Parganas	64	66.7	7. Bogra	83	84
8. Calcutta	69	72.7	8. Pabna	77	77
9. Khulna	50.2	50.5	9. Malda	54	53
10. Jalpaiguri	67.5	75	10. Dacca	67	64
11. Darjeeling	74	84.9	11. Mymensingh	77	77
12. Cooch Behar	64	62	12. Faridpur	64	61
13. Tripura	68	74	13. Bakarganj	72	72
			14. Tippera	76	77
			15. Noakhali	78	81
			16. Chittagong	74	74

Muslim 'Islands' in Bengal with percentages of Muslim Population

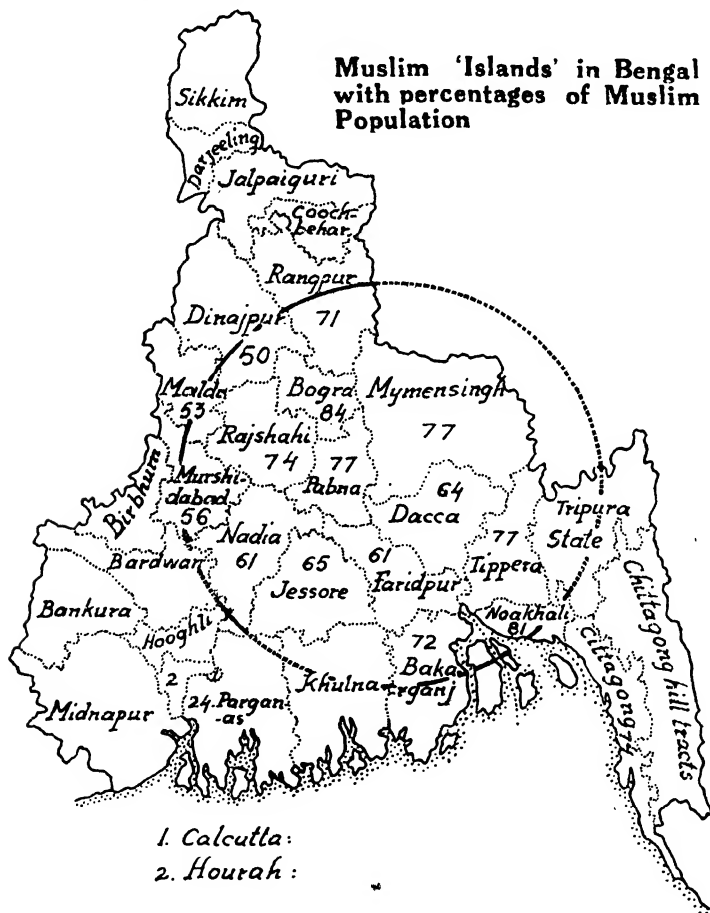


TABLE III

*Hindu Population in Bengal, 1941**

Districts or States	Total Population	Hindu Population	Percentage of 3 to 2
1. Burdwan	1,890,732	1,545,175	81
2. Birbhum	1,048,317	760,520	72
3. Bankura	1,289,640	1,232,805	95
4. Midnapur	3,190,647	2,935,588	92
5. Hooghly	1,377,729	1,169,044	84
6. Howrah	1,490,304	1,188,782	79.7
7. 24 Parganas	3,536,386	2,361,081	66.7
8. Calcutta	2,108,891	1,533,200	72.7
9. Khulna	1,943,218	980,368	50.5
10. Jalpaiguri	1,089,513	830,943	75
11. Cooch Behar	640,842	397,383	62
12. Tripura	513,010	381,385	74
13. Darjeeling	376,369	319,797	84.9
Total	20,495,598	15,633,396	76.27

*Tribes that are Hinduised or semi-Hinduised have been included in the Hindu population as in the enumeration for all the past censuses. The enumeration in 1941 census that excludes these has been modified accordingly.

Hindu 'Islands' in Bengal with percentages of Hindu Population

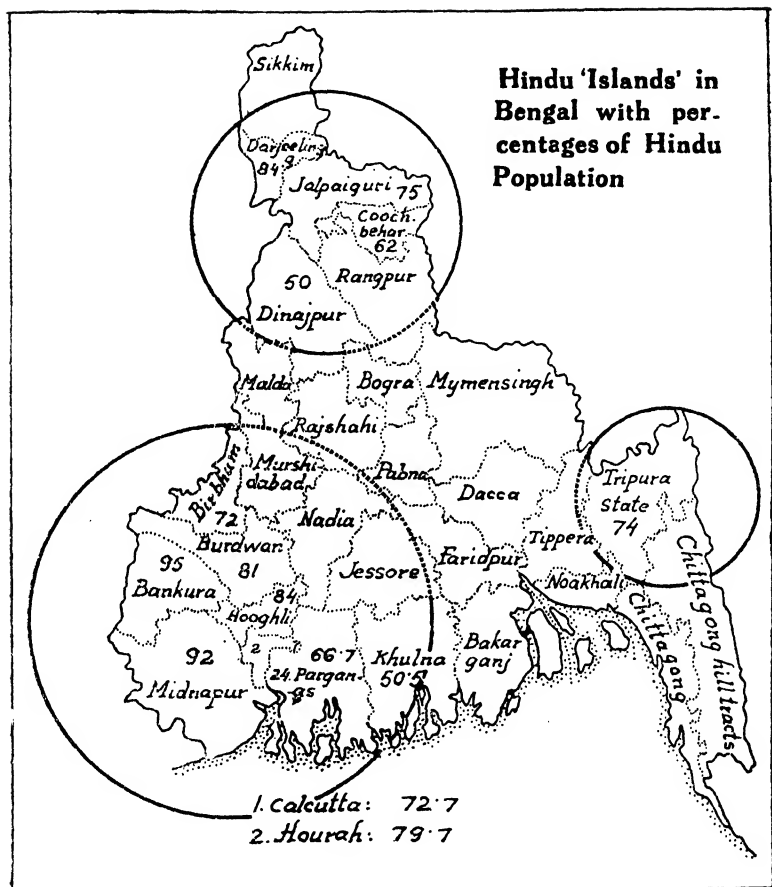


TABLE IV

Bengali-speaking population in Bihar

	Total population	Bengali speaking	Hindustani (Hindi or Urdu) speaking
Manbhum	1,810,890	1,222,689	321,690
Singhbhum	929,802	147,517	81,047
Santhal-Parganas	2,051,472	252,203	942,777
Purnea	2,186,543	728,850 (corrected)	—

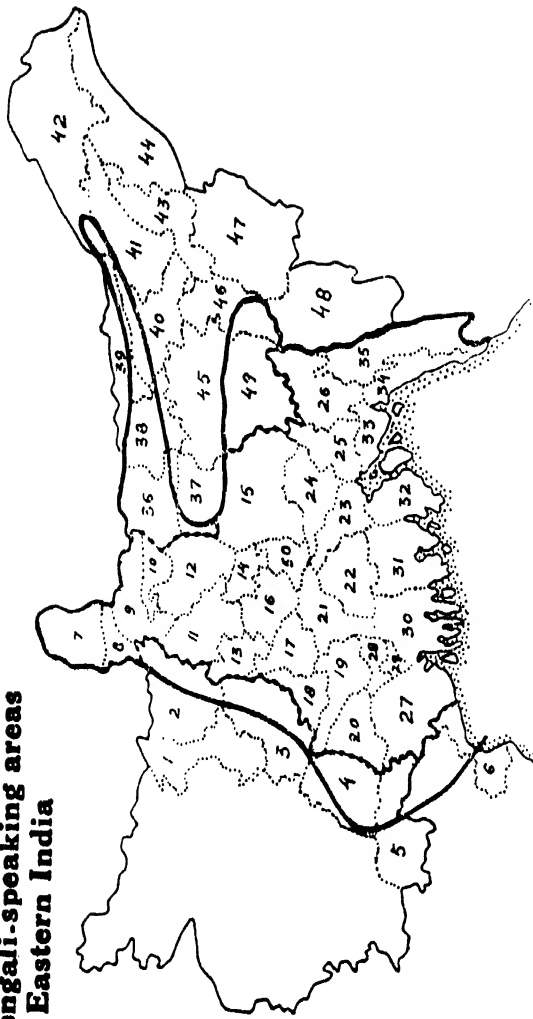
Bengali-speaking population in Orissa

District or States	Bengali-speaking population			
Balasore	16,949
Cuttack	13,880
Puri	3,749

Bengali-speaking population in Assam

District or State	Total population	Bengali speaking	Assamese speaking
Sylhet	2,724,342	2,509,682	1,477
Cachar	570,531	338,772	2,215
Goalpara	882,748	476,433	161,179
Kamrup	967,746	170,409	649,512
Darrang	584,817	95,115	193,089
Nowgong	562,581	193,349	237,406
Sibsagar	933,326	73,351	503,603
Lakhimpur	728,582	77,471	228,461

Bengali-speaking areas in Eastern India



1. Bhagalpur
2. Purnea
3. Santal Parganas
4. Manbhum
5. Singhbhum

6. Balasore
36. Goalkpara
37. Garo Hills
38. Kamrup
39. Darrang

40. Nowgong
41. Sibsagar
42. Lakhimpur
46. Cachar
49. Sylhet

TABLE V

Cultural Boundaries of Bengal

Province	Areas which should be returned to Bengal immediately	Areas where linguistic survey is necessary for revision of present political boundaries
Assam	Sylhet and Cachar Districts ; Thanas Bilasipara, Kokrajhar and Lakhimpur in Goalpara District ; Barpeta Sub-division in Kamrup District ; Kathiatali, Juria, Laichurui, Ding Bakoni in Nowgong District ; Mangaldai Sub-division in Darrang	Goalpara, Dudhnai, North Salmara and Bijni in Goalpara ; Tejpur in Darrang ; North Lakhimpur and Laluk in Lakhimpur
Bihar	Kishengunj and Sader Sub-divisions in Purnea ; Dumka, Pakur and Jamtara in Santal Parganas ; Sadar and Dhanbad Sub-divisions in Manbhum ; Dhalbhum Sub-division in Singhbhum	Araria Sub-division in Purnea ; Rajmahal, Deogarh and Godda Sub-divisions in Rajmahal ; Seraikela, Keonjhar, Karsowan and Mayurbhanj ; Sadar Sub-division in Singhbhum
Orissa		Jaleswar, Baliapal and Basta in Balasore

TABLE VI

Percentage Distribution of Hindus and Muslims in the Punjab

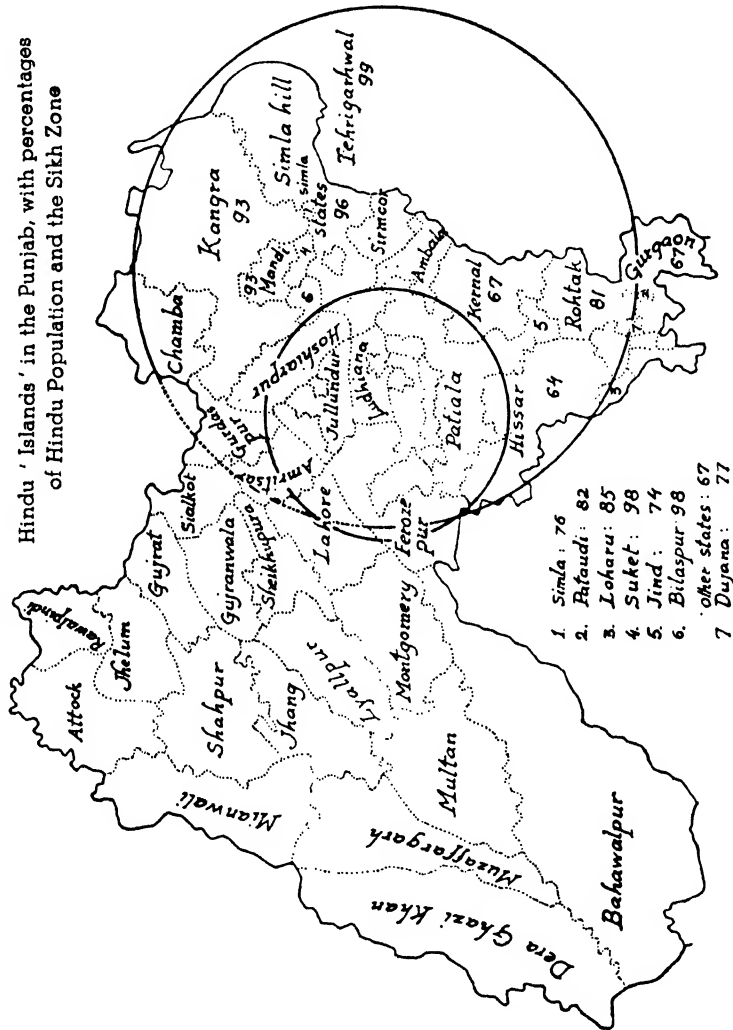
Hindu Majority Districts			Muslim Majority Districts		
District or State	1931 per cent	1941 per cent		1931 per cent	1941 per cent
1. Hissar	65	64	1. Lahore	59	60
2. Rohtak	81	81	2. Gurdaspur	51	51
3. Gurgaon	67	66	3. Sialkot	62	62
4. Karnal	66	67	4. Gujranwala	71	70
5. Simla	78	76	5. Sheikhupura	64	63
6. Kangra	91	93	6. Gujrat	85	85
7. Dujana	79	77	7. Shahpur	83	83
8. Pataudi	83	82	8. Jhelum	89	89
9. Loharu	87	85	9. Rawalpindi	83	80
10. Mandi	96	93	10. Attock	91	90
11. Suket	99	98	11. Mianwali	87	86
12. Jind	75	74	12. Montgomery	70	69
13. Chamba	92	92	13. Lyallpur	63	63
14. Sirmoor	94	93	14. Jhang	83	82
15. Bilaspur	98	98	15. Multan	80	78
16. Tehri-Garhwal	—	99	16. Muzaffargarh	87	86
17. Other States	—	67	17. Dera Ghazi Khan	89	89
18. Simla Hill State	96	—	18. Biloch Trans-Frontier Tract	—	99.5
			19. Kapurthala	57	56
			20. Bhawalpur	81	81
			21. Khairpur	—	82

TABLE VII

Hindu population in 'Islands' in the Punjab

Districts or States	Total population	Hindu population	1941 percentage 3 to 2
1. Hissar	1,006,709	652,676	64
2. Rohtak	956,399	780,474	81
3. Gurgaon	851,458	560,498	66
4. Karnal	994,575	666,036	67
5. Simla	38,576	29,466	76
6. Kangra	899,377	838,479	93
7. Dujana	30,666	23,727	77
8. Pataudi	21,520	17,728	82
9. Loharu	27,892	23,923	85
10. Mandi	232,593	227,457	93
11. Suket	71,092	69,974	98
12. Jhind	361,812	268,349	74
13. Chamba	3,127	154,480	92
14. Sirmoor	156,026	146,199	93
15. Bilaspur	110,336	108,375	98
16. Tehri-Garhwal	397,369	395,340	99
17. Other States	359,520	345,520	67
Total	6,519,047	5,508,701	84.5

Hindu 'Islands' in the Punjab, with percentages of Hindu Population and the Sikh Zone



Muslim 'Islands' in the Punjab with percentages of Muslim Population

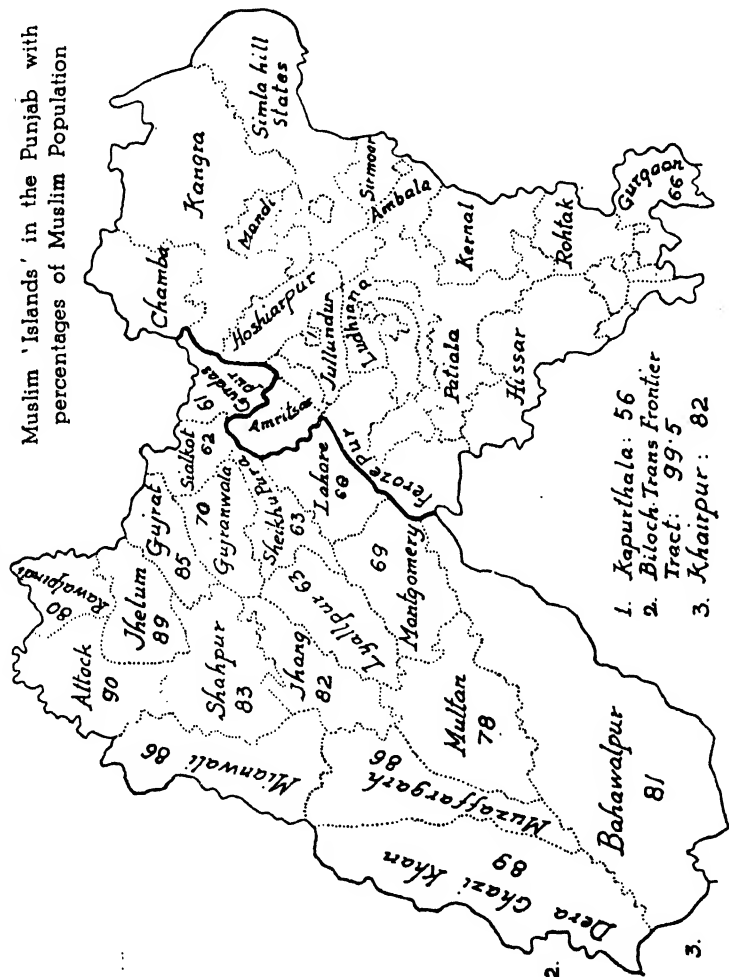


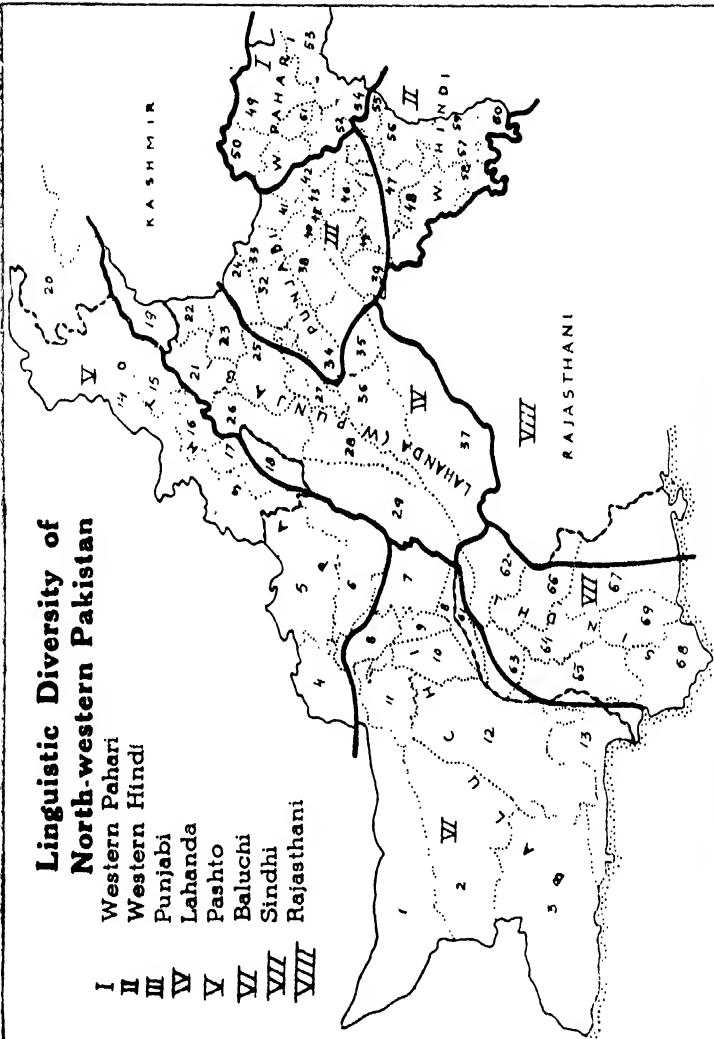
TABLE VIII
Distribution of Languages in Pakistan

Region	Total Population	Lahanda (Western Punjabi)	Punjabi	Pashto	Balochi	Western Hindi	Rajasthani	Pahari	Sindhi
<i>North-western Pakistan</i>									
Punjab	23,580,852	6,528,325	12,154,001	90,020	59,804	3,431,393	428,894	793,079	..
N.W.F.P.	2,425,076	1,034,957	68,031	1,279,471	..	19,221	..	5,172	
Baluchistan	463,503	44,981	19,273	206,293	97,094	16,939	..	7,864	32,375
<i>Eastern Pakistan</i>									
Bengal	50,114,002		Bengali 46,393,802	..	Eastern Hindi 1,612,016	Pahari 133,151	3,145,091 (Bombay Province)
Assam	8,622,251		Assamese 3,960,712	1,992,846	587,234	123,832	

It will be seen that in north-western Pakistan there are six different major languages of digerent peoples. Language is not therefore a political binder in north-western Pakistan ; while in eastern Pakistan the unity of language and literature represented by 50 million Bengali-speaking people, Hindu and Muslim, out of 58.7 million total population is disrupted.

Linguistic Diversity of North-western Pakistan

- I Western Punjabi
- II Western Hindi
- III Punjabi
- IV Lahanda
- V Pashto
- VI Baluchi
- VII Sindhi
- VIII Rajasthani



- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Chagai | 35. Montgomery |
| 2. Kharan | 36. Multan |
| 3. Makran | 37. Bahawalpur |
| 4. Quetta | 38. Lahore |
| 5. Zhob | 39. Ferozepur |
| 6. Loralai | 40. Amritsar |
| 7. Maribugti country | 41. Gurdaspur |
| 8. Sibi administered
area | 42. Hoshiarpur |
| 9. Dombki | 43. Jullundar |
| 10. Kachhi | 44. Faridkot |
| 11. Sarawan | 45. Kapurthala |
| 12. Jhalawan | 46. Ludhiana |
| 13. Las bela | 47. Patiala |
| 14. Agencies &
Tribal areas | 48. Hissar |
| 15. Peshawar | 49. Kangra |
| 16. Kohat | 50. Chamba |
| 17. Bannu | 51. Mandi |
| 18. Dera Ismail Khan | 52. Simla |
| 19. Hazara | 53. Simla Hill State |
| 20. Frontier
dependencies | 54. Kahan |
| 21. Attock | 55. Ambala |
| 22. Rawalpindi | 56. Kernal |
| 23. Jhelum | 57. Rohtak |
| 24. Gujrat | 58. Native State |
| 25. Shahpur | 59. Delhi |
| 26. Mianwali | 60. Gurgaon |
| 27. Jhung | 61. U.S. Frontier |
| 28. Muzaaffargarh | 62. Sukkur |
| 29. Dera Ghazi Khan | 63. Larkana |
| 32. Gujranwala | 64. Nawab Shah |
| 33. Sialkot | 65. Dadu |
| 34. Lyallpur | 66. Khairpur |
| | 67. Thar & Parkar |
| | 68. Karachi |
| | 69. Hyderabad |

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